The Devices of Emperor Maximilian I of Austria

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Abstract
Maximilian I of Austria (1459-1519), like other nobles and knights of his time, used devices or *imprese* as forms of personal representation, in addition to the coat of arms or blazon that identified them as members of a specific lineage. This article analyzes the devices that, according to textual and iconographic testimonies, we know Maximilian I used throughout his life, and offers an interpretation of the meaning of the combination of images and mottoes therein.

Keywords
Devices, imprese, Maximilian I of Austria, Holy Roman Emperor, House of Habsburg, Dukes of Burgundy, emblem studies

DEVICES OR *IMPRESE*: COMMUNICATION AND REPRESENTATION

Among the various modalities of the *Emblematic* genre[1] are devices or *imprese*[2], hybrid creations that communicated an individual concept through word and image, this concept often being an intention, an aspiration, a form of conduct of the device's owner, or sometimes a manifestation of love. Devices were often displayed on the individual's clothing. They might, for example, adorn knights' crests at tournaments, be embroidered on their horses' blankets, be painted on their shields during jousting matches, on the walls, floors or ceilings of their palaces, on pieces of majolica, jewels, stained glass, etc., all to identify the owner. The message they transmitted was destined to be received by those who, in order to fully understand it, would have to be familiar with the symbolic code used in the composition of the message, although the tropes used, such as metaphor or complex reasoning, often made a full understanding difficult. Devices constituted an act of communication, one which was exploited for various purposes, including the enhancement of an individual's profile and public standing, or as a restatement of their lineage.

The courts of Europe embraced the design and use of devices from the mid-fourteenth century, when a growing courtly refinement led to the demand for a personal involvement in one's representation, beyond that provided by coats of arms and armories. Two circumstances were

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[1] In the 14th and 15th centuries we find that various creations were used to communicate concepts in a symbolic way, and these received various names: emblem, devise, badge, *invention* (occasional devices, generally used in festive events of an ephemeral nature, such as tournaments), hieroglyph (reserved for religious events or mourning), as well as other less frequent ones: *enigma*, *pegma*, *symbol*. In general, they are informed by the same elements: "soul" (the concept, the meaning, expressed in the motto – a short sentence, sometimes expressed in a couple of verses, or sometimes three – and "body" (the figure which is complemented by the motto and which illustrates it). They were effectively acts of communication and, depending on the sender, the recipient, the channel or medium through which it was sent, the context and situation involved, one or another form of the genre would be used.

[2] In Spanish, *divisas* and *empresas* were terms used synonymously. The meaning of *divisa* has to do with the French tradition (*devise*) which had more influence in Spain until the middle of the 15th century, while *empresa* refers to the Italian *impresa*, more frequent from the second half of the 15th century and in the 16th. Thus in French, *devise*, and in English, *device*; in Italian *impresa*. For etymological clarification, see Rolet (2007) and Hablot (2002: 319, n. 2).

instrumental in the rise of these new forms of representation: on the one hand, the movement of the nobility from isolated castles towards cities, and the increasing concentration of court events therein; on the other hand, the saturation that had arisen due to the excessive regulation of heraldry, in which the owners had little scope to decide on designs, since the "kings of arms" and other officials were in charge of the registration of coats of arms, the formation of new ones being granted, and the observance of complex heraldic laws. This led to the birth of a *new emblematica* (as Hablot, 2002, calls it) with which an individual could create (almost always with the help of an educated expert) an artifact composed of word and images that could transmit some sort of concept or personal message, and at the same time represent the owner (as a sign of recognition) with effects similar to that of his coat of arms.

As Hablot (2002 and 2004) describes, devices evolved gradually in the various European courts between 1330 and 1400 to satisfy the varied needs of kings and the highest ranks of the nobility. For a time it was very fashionable to exchange devices as gifts, for example, in the form of jewelry (especially at festivities celebrating the New Year), and this in itself is a source of information on alliances and mutual friendships. Such a system of signs was reinforced with the creation of chivalric orders that helped establish diplomatic ties between Christian knights throughout Western Europe. All this contributed to the development of a new semiological system, one that was less rigid than that of heraldry, and which allowed a greater degree of creative freedom.

The Dukes of Burgundy were well aware of the enhanced political profile that this system might provide them, and it was taken up by Duke Felipe II *the Bold* (1342–1404)[3], plus his successors John *the Fearless*, Philippe *the Good* and Charles *the Bold*. All made extensive use of personal devices, which allowed them to forge a variety of bonds and to project an image of prestige and refinement which garnered international admiration. When Maximilian of Habsburg succeeded to the Duchy of Burgundy through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, he had to adapt quickly to a culture of images and a level of refinement to which he was not accustomed at the Austrian court.

[3] In French, Philippe *le Hardi*; in Spanish, Felipe *el Atrevido*.

MAXIMILIAN, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, CO-REGENT OF THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY AND EMPEROR OF THE SACRED EMPIRE

Maximilian I of Habsburg (1459-1519) – second son of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III and Eleanor of Portugal – had an eventful childhood. When he was barely three years old, his family was besieged by the troops of his uncle, Albert VI, this due to dynastic disputes.

According to the most widespread biographies, Maximilian learned to read and write young, as well as to speak German, Portuguese (his mother's language), Slovenian, and later Latin, French, and Italian, although some contemporary texts alluded to his difficulty in speaking in the early years, this possibly due to his prognathism[4]. When he was fourteen, his father, advised by Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini (who was Pope Pius II and had previously served Emperor Frederick as secretary of the Imperial Chancellery), contemplated the advantages of marrying his son Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482), the only daughter and heir of Duke Charles I *the Bold* and Isabella of Bourbon. The Duke of Burgundy sought a royal crown for his country, and was attracted to the wealth of the Burgundian duchy, one of the principal European powers of the 15th century, with significant commercial centers in Ghent, Bruges and Antwerp, and in varied and broad territories within what today is France, Germany and the Benelux countries. The marriage negotiations were prolonged by Charles's demands of the Emperor, which the latter could not satisfy, but the issue was suddenly forced after the death of the Duke at the battle of Nancy on January 5, 1477. Months of extreme danger for Mary's Duchy followed, due to the claims of King Louis XI of France, who broke the nine-year truce signed as part of the Treaty of Picquigny –*Trêve de Soleuvres*– (1475); seeing her orphaned and helpless, he harassed her in different ways and encroached upon her states. Emperor Frederick III closed the deal and Maximilian undertook a journey worthy of chivalric novels, in which he faced many adversities and dangers. While still on his way to Bruges, the marriage was celebrated *per procurationem* (by proxy) on April 21, 1477, and was ratified on August 19, the day after Maximilian arrived in Bruges.

After several years of wars in defense of the Burgundian territories against the claims of the King of France, Maximilian and Mary began to see some calm in their lives. They had had three children, Philipp, Margaret and

[4] The humanist Johannes Cuspinian (1473-1529), in *De Caesaribus et Imperatoribus Romanis* (1540: p. DCCXXIIII), provides interesting data on the childhood and education of Maximilian; for example, the difficulty he had in speaking until he was nine years old, this to such an extent that his parents believed him to be mute. Cuspinian also notes, however, that he would subsequently develop a fine intelligence.

Franz (who died a few months after birth, in 1481), but misfortune soon visited them. On March 6, 1482 Mary was badly injured when her horse fell into a pit while she was hunting with hawks, a favorite pastime of hers. She died on the 27th of the same month, at just 25 years of age. The eldest son of Mary and Maximilian, Philip, was proclaimed Duke at just four years old, and Maximilian became Regent, in which role he had to face many political and military problems.

Taking advantage of this situation, the *États généraux* (assembly of representatives of the three estates – nobility, clergy and bourgeoisie – of the Dutch provinces, which the Burgundian dukes summoned when they needed to raise funds) signed the Treaty of Arras with the King of France (without the participation of Maximilian) by which Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Artois and Picardy were assigned to France, and the Netherlands and Luxembourg to the Habsburgs. The French dolphin Charles was engaged in marriage to Maximilian's daughter, Margaret (who was not even three years old). Artois and Franche-Comté were promised as Margaret's dowry. Unable to accept the conditions, Maximilian waged a war against the French and the Flemish cities that lasted until 1485, with the recognition by Ghent of Maximilian's right to serve as regent to his son while the latter was a minor.

Maximilian was elected King of the Romans (1483), and succeeded his father as Archduke of Austria (1493) and as Holy Roman Emperor (1508). Years after the death of Mary of Burgundy, he married Anne, heir to the Duchy of Brittany, by proxy, in 1490. However, the marriage was not consummated, and was annulled in 1492 by Charles VIII of France, who was determined to marry her. This was doubly embarrassing for the Habsburg dynasty, since Margaret – Maximilian and Mary's daughter – was betrothed to Charles (son of Louis XI and heir to the French throne), as already noted, and had been transferred to France to be educated at his court. The engagement was dissolved when Charles married the rich heiress Anne of Brittany, and Margaret, having been raised and educated for her future position as queen, was returned to her father. This humiliation was not forgiven by the Habsburg, and Charles became his adversary for life. In 1493, Maximilian married again, this time to Bianca María Sforza, daughter of the Duke of Milan, who provided a significant dowry with which to pay the debts that he had contracted, and opened up political alliances against Venice, his long-term adversary for the territories of the Adriatic coast that the Italian republic wanted to annex. That same year his father died, and he was elected King of the Romans. The following year, the French intervention in Italy began, initiating a long cycle of conflicts. Maximilian allied himself with the Venetian League in 1495, and then with the Holy League in 1511, as a means of containing the French. In 1508, the Venetian

troops prevented his coronation in Rome as Emperor, and for this reason he was crowned in the Swiss commune of Trient; with the permission of Pope Julius II he proclaimed himself "Emperor Elect". His final years, until his death in 1519, were not without difficulties, including unsuccessful military campaigns, economic difficulties, and the constant threat of the French and Ottomans, which he faced with great diplomatic skill.

During the lifetime of Maximilian, historical events of great importance took place, such as the discovery of the printing press, the fall of Constantinople (1453) and the discovery of the New World (1492). He lived through the end of an era in which politics was governed by families and codes of honor, and conflicts were resolved on battlefields between knights, vassals, and mercenaries; he saw the changes imposed by economic and political interests under the influence of offices of royal or ecclesiastical chancelleries. From his youth, Maximilian was well aware of the importance of communication and the iconic projection of himself towards perpetuating his memory and lineage[5].

DEVISES TRADITION IN THE DUCAL COURT OF BURGUNDY

The court of the Dukes of Burgundy was accustomed to using devices as a form of communication for princes and other notable figures in the Christian West, but since the final quarter of the 14th century, very specific practices have been observed on the part of the Dukes, these illustrating a conscious exploitation of the possibilities offered by the new semiological vocabulary for various purposes: to show sharpness of mind and refinement, to exhibit social ties, to honor allies, to assert power, etc.

Duke John I, nicknamed *the Fearless* (1371–1419) used devices that often transmitted a message in response to the motto of a political adversary[6]. These devices are difficult to understand today because we do not fully comprehend the circumstances and context in which they were created. To understand their meaning, it is necessary to be aware of those events which would have been well known to his contemporaries. Louis I, Duke of Orleans (1372–1407), was an enemy of his cousin, Duke John *the Fearless*; they had fought over the custody of the children of his brother, Charles VI of France (*the Mad*). Louis of Orleans wore a device that seemed to be challenge to the Duke of Burgundy: it represented a knotted cane,

[5] Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian. The Visual Ideology of a Holy Emperor*, 2008.

[6] There was also a fashion for devices that were expressed as a dialogue between married couples. Well-known examples include Philip *the Good* and his third wife, Isabella of Portugal; John, Duke of Bedford and his wife, Anne of Burgundy; Charles *the Bold* and Margaret of York; Philip *the Handsome* and Joanna I of Castile. See Beltrán (2011).

symbol of the Armagnacs party, with the motto JE L'ENNUIE (*I annoy him*). In effect, Louis did everything possible to hinder John's regency, and indeed they publicly threatened each other. The intervention of his uncle, the Duke of Berry, prevented a civil war for some time, but the animosity between them did not end there. Since 1405 John *the Fearless* had a device with a *picture* representing a carpenter's plane from which shavings of wood have come, with the motto in Flemish: IK HOVD – sometimes written: IC HOUD OR IK HOUD (*I am constant / I do not give up*) – which according to Enguerrand de Monstrelet in his *Chronicle* (vol. I, 1840: 42) was a response to his cousin's motto. Through the motto he sought to tell him (and the whole world) that, slowly but surely, he would chip away at the knotted staff (power) of his enemy, thus wearing it down (fig. 1). Although on November 20, 1407, they solemnly swore to be reconciled, three days later, Louis was brutally murdered on the street in Paris, attacked by armed men on John's orders. Not only did he not subsequently deny this, but indeed he bragged about it, and for his own safety had to flee from Paris and remain in his own states for five years. His end was also violent, because in 1419, while he was chatting with the dolphin Charles, an incident occurred with the Viscount of Narbona and Tanneguy du Chatel, who killed John, the dolphin doing nothing to defend him.

Fig. 1. *Liber de informatione principum*, manuscript © Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels, KBR, ms. 9475, f. 1r. Several devices of John *Fearless* can be seen: the carpenter's plane with shavings, the motto ICH HALTZ MICH, the branch of hops with fruits and the German hat.

John *the Fearless* used other devices. Prior to the device mentioned above, and until the end of his days, he used a branch of hops with leaves and fruits, to which he added, when he married in 1385, the motto ICH HALTZ MICH (sometimes ICH HALS MICH). It cannot be ruled out that this device also had a political message. Hops induce sleep, and the plant itself grows among other plants little by little until it dominates them. When this

image is coupled with the Flemish motto, which means “I am in silence”, it might be seen as expressing the political position of the young prince who is waiting for the right moment to assert himself. On the staircase of the *Hôtel d’Artois et de Bourgogne (Jean sans Peur tour)* in Paris, we can still see today, carved in stone, the branches of hops ascending to the ceiling of the staircase. The same image is also seen in manuscripts (fig. 2). Other devices not accompanied by a motto were an oak leaf, a mason's level fitted with a plumb line (used since 1410), and a “chapeau berruyer” or German hat. The Duke used the carpenter's plane and the level as insignia for his vassals and urban supporters to identify a community of followers against the “anti-community” of the Armagnacs; with this, a conflict that had previously been private, between princely houses, was able to transcend social barriers (Hutchison, 2007).

Fig. 2. Marco Polo, *Livre des merveilles*, Manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 2810, fol. 226r. On the left is John Fearless’ hops device, as well as embroidered on his clothing, accompanied by the carpenter's plane and the bricklayer's level.

When John *the Fearless* married Margaret of Baviera (1363–1423), their relatives placed on their shields images of two laurel branches in the form of a *crux decussata* (Saint Andrew’s cross) giving off sparks, with the motto FLAMESCIT UTERQUE (*the flame arises between the two*). The meaning of the device, beyond an interpretation appropriate for the celebration of a

marriage through the love / flame association, reveals the political meaning of this union. Albert, Duke of Bavaria-Straubing and Felipe II of Burgundy, had arranged a double wedding of their children, Margaret and William of Bavaria with John and Margaret of Burgundy. This dual matrimony was celebrated in Cambrai in 1385. The two branches of the laurel, when rubbed, produce fire[7], with which it is implied that the Duke has doubled his forces and could thus inflict greater damage on his enemies. The diagonal cross evokes Saint Andrew, the Patron Saint of Burgundy[8]. The device was used as a representative of the Burgundians in disputes with the Armagnacs, and would be the seed of the insignia or badge of the order of the *Toison d'or* when it was founded by Philip III, son of John *the Fearless*, in 1429.

The third marriage of Philip III *the Good*, with Isabella of Portugal (1397–1471), was celebrated in Bruges on January 8, 1430, and was the occasion for great emblematic creations. On the one hand, gallant devices of the two parties involved, and on the other, the first exhibition of the *Toison d'or* chivalric order (instituted by Philip in 1429) as well as the badges of the order, eleborate dress and ceremonial splendor. The Duke used a device that represented him, the *picture* being a fire striker [9] (*briquet* in French, whose initial and shape was the same as the B for Burgundy) and a flint stone, from which sparks fly. To the ambiguous motto AUTRE N'ARAY (*another I will not have*) (fig. 3), which could have a meaning beyond that which it usually carries (addressing his new wife, Isabella), she responded with sharpness and irony

Fig. 3. Device of Philip III of Burgundy in *Champion des Dames* (c. 1461). Martin Le France (Paris, BNF, Ms. Fr. 12476, fol. 1v).

[7] Laurel wood is especially appropriate to produce fire by rubbing, as Theophrastus (*History of plants*, V, 9, 7) and Pliny (*Natural History*, XVI, 40), among other classical authors had noted. Paradin (*Devises heroïques*, 1567: 47) and Camerarius (*Symbolorum et emblematum, ex re herbaria*, 1590, emblem XXXIII) include the device in their books of emblems with brief commentaries that allude to this facet of laurel. Camerarius accompanies it with the motto VIM EX VI (*force with force*), which expresses the meaning that the Duke seems to give to this device (*sum of forces*).

[8] Saint Andrew evangelized Scythia, the country from which the ancestors of the Burgundians are considered to have come, and was martyred on a cross of the form known as the *crux decussata* (X-shaped cross, or "saltire").

[9] The fire striker was a common instrument (a lighter) used by soldiers to make fire. Holding a flint stone and some wisps of tow with one hand, the stone was struck with the link and sparks were released, which ignited in the tow, producing fire.

with the motto TANT QUE JE VIVE (*as long as I live*) (fig.4). It should be borne in mind that the Duke had already had two wives and his status as a womanizer was well known[10]. This practice of a set of devices, with one offering a message that is complemented by another, was prevalent in Burgundy at the time[11].

Fig. 4. Device of Isabella of Portugal, a palisade or fence with phylactery in which the motto is expressed and is linked with the initials P (for Philippe) and Y (for Ysabel). In *Mortifiment de Vaine Plaisance*, by René d'Anjou (Brussels © Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 10308, fol. 1).

Claude Paradin (*Devises heroïques*: 1557, 43)[12], reproduces this motto of Duke Philip with the fire striker and the flint giving off sparks, and heads it with the motto ANTE FERIT QUAM FLAMMA MICET (*it hurts before the flame is seen*) (fig. 5). We do not know if he took this motto from some historical source or if he devised it himself. If it emerged from the environment of the Duke or of Philip *the Good* himself, the message could be read in a political sense, continuing the same threatening tone (although more aggressively) towards his enemies that his father had used, who we recall had been assassinated. The carpenter's plane of John *the Fearless* announced that he would make wood shavings of his enemy's cane, whereas his son might be seen as warning of the destructive power of his bombardes, large artillery pieces capable of firing a heavy projectile a great distance after the fuse was lit. In addition, it warns that he will act without prior notice, before events become uncontrollable[13].

Fig. 5. Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques*, Lyon, Jean de Tournes & Guillaume Gazeau (1557: 43).

[10] He had at least eighteen illegitimate children from several of his twenty-four documented lovers.

[11] Jacques Paviot, 2007, p. 11.

[12] Paradin had already included this motto in his uncommented edition of *Devises heroïques* of 1551 (p. 32).

[13] Picinelli, in *Mondo Simbolico*..., lib. XII, 127 (1653, p. 370) interprets the device as that of a determined man, more in deeds than in words, who attacks before his anger is known in words.

This personal device of Philip *the Good* was the main insignia of the order of the *Toison d'or* (Golden Fleece), which would become one of the most durable and prestigious, and whose declared purpose was the exaltation of the chivalric spirit and the defense of the Christian religion, but with clear political objectives: to establish a network of alliances and loyalties with twenty-four flawless gentlemen[14] who committed themselves to a code of honor to control the balance of territorial domains in Europe. The neck collar of the knights of the order was formed by successive pairs of fire strikers facing each other, separated by a flint stone giving off sparks and, as a pendant, a golden fleece, associated with Jason at first, and years later, with Biblical episodes of Gideon.

The device of Philip *the Good* became the dynastic emblem of his successors. Charles *the Fearless* added the cross of Saint Andrew, and Philip *the Handsome* incorporated the royal crown.

Fig. 6. Device of Charles *the Fearless*, in the manuscript: Guillebert de Lannoy ou Hugues de Lannoy, *L'instruction d'un jeune prince,* © Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Ms-5104 réserve, fol. 5r.

Fig. 7. Device of Margaret of York in the manuscript known as Getty Tondal © Getty Museum (Los Ángeles. United States of America), Ms. 30, fol. 27.

After the death of Charles *the Bold*, Maximilian did not follow this Burgundian court tradition of using complementary mottoes. Duchess Mary used as a motto a thistle in flower, with its own leaves, and the motto EN VOUS ME FYE (*I trust you*), alluding to her husband. She began wearing it at Maximilian's reception on August 19, 1477 in Ghent, where he arrived on a white horse escorted by 500 horsemen. The Duchess received him by expressing to all how much hope she had in her husband, who would free her

[14] Later, at the general chapter held in Brussels in 1516, Charles V increased the number of knights to fifty-one.

from the terrible harassment of both the French king and some of his Flemish subjects. The thistle (in French *chardon*) allowed an interpretation following a common court game at the time (a form of *rebus*), quite common at the time, consisting of representing a word or several syllables by means of an object with a name that sounded similar to what was being represented (García Arranz: 2020: 179 and 199). Thus, *cher don* (dear/beloved gift) could be understood as being represented by a thistle (*chardon*). Maximilian could have used a device in response, in the style of the former dukes, but he preferred a device with a declaration of political intent, as we shall see.

DEVICES USED BY MAXIMILIAN I

It is possible that the first time Maximilian had to display a non-gallant, that is, a heroic device (not occasional inventions created for display in tournaments), was for his solemn inauguration as sovereign of the Order of the *Toison d 'or* in Bruges, in the Cathedral of Saint Savior (*Saint Sauveur*), on May 1, 1478. The day before, April 30, he was solemnly knighted with the sword of honor of the order by the Lord of Ravestain, followed by an elaborate procession through the city. On the seats of the choir in the cathedral we can still see the coats of arms of the lords who participated in chapter XIII of the order presided over by Archduke Maximilian of Habsburg.

In the manuscript *Livre du toison d'or*, produced at the end of the 16th century and kept in Munich, in the Bayerische Staatbibliothek (Cod.icon 285), the portraits, personal devices – motto only – and coat of arms of the sovereigns of the order of the *Toison d'or* are exhibited (from its founder, Philip *the Good*, to Philip II). We can see in fol. 25v that Maximilian's device had a motto in German: HALT MAAS (*in moderation*) (fig. 8). This manuscript is from the late 16th century (undated). The Archduke is depicted with gray hair, but when he was invested as sovereign of the order he was a young man of nineteen.

The motto is not accompanied by a *picture*, but allows us to get an idea of the reassuring message that the Archduke wanted to convey to so many noble and rich bourgeois people, worried as they were by the new political situation.

Fig. 8. Manuscript *Livre du toison d'or* © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.icon. 285, fols. 25v y 26v.

The best known of Maximilian of Habsburg's devices is a representation of a six-spoke falcate wheel (with blades) which carries the *globus cruciger* (an orb or cruciferous globe) above it, this representing the dominion of Christ (the cross) over the world (the orb). In the hands of an earthly ruler, though, this was the Christian symbol of highest authority. At the bottom of the wheel there is a ripe pomegranate, opened and revealing its fruit. The motto that surrounds the composition reads PER TOT DISCRIMINA (*through so many moments of danger*). It is part of a verse from Virgil's *Aeneid* (I, 204) and the context is interesting: Aeneas addresses his companions, exhausted from having faced a storm in the seas of Sicily provoked by Juno's divine malice, and exhorts them to regain their spirits with these words: "Amid various toils, through so many dangerous situations, we seek Lazio, where the peaceful fates show us; there the kingdoms of Troy must be reborn. Hold on and save yourselves for better times"[15].

[15] *Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum / tendimus in Latium; sedes ubi fata quietas / ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae. / Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.*

Drawings of this device by Maximilian I are conserved in various manuscripts by Ottavio Strada (1550-1612), who compiled the devices of emperors, kings, princes and dukes under the title *Symbola romanorum imperatorum* ... We see the device, for example, in a Strada manuscript from 1591 (fig. 9). It is also reproduced by the Flemish humanist Jacob Typot (1540-1601), better known as Typotius, in the first volume of his *Symbola divina et humana* (1601, plate 18, p. 42, fig. 10). It is also reproduced by the Prussian writer Salomon Neugebauer (ca. 1574– † 1625?) who published another collection inspired by Strada and Typotius in Frankfurt (1619), with the title *Electorum symbolorum heroicorum centuria gemina*. Maximilian's device appears on p. 27, with a commentary ending on the next page. It is also the device seen on the engraving of the Emperor by Francesco Terzi (1569, plate 6)[16].

Fig. 9. O. Strada, *Symbola romanorum imperatorum*, manuscript BSB Cod.icon. 425 (1591: fol. 5).

Fig.10. J. Typotius, *Symbola divina & Humana*, vol. 1, Praga (1601, I, 43).

Other images that appear in manuscripts more effectively illustrate Maximilian's device, in that they represent the wheel not from the front, but from the side, so that the blades embedded in the outer rim can be better appreciated. This can be seen in *intaglio* printing stamped on a manuscript, describing a stage frigate (that is, a false ship) designed to be part of the shows (*naumaquias*) that in the time of Felipe IV were performed in the

[16] Francesco Terzi, in his famous series of engraved portraits of the Habsburgs (*Austriacae gentis imaginum*, 1569), places this device at the top of the portrait of Maximilian. See *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien* <https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/92625/> [29/03/2021].

Buen Retiro pond (Madrid)[17]. The ornaments of the ship include some devices of the ancestors of Felipe IV; among them, that of Maximilian I (fig. 11). Likewise, the color drawing on vellum by Jörg Breu II (1510 - post 1547), preserved in the British Museum[18], represents the Emperor Maximilian and his grandson Charles V. In these portraits, on each cartouche, the mottoes of their devices can be seen; that of Carlos, PLVS VLTRA (the *picture* of the columns of his device is not represented in the drawing) and that of Maximilian, with Gothic letters: HALT 'MASS. On the left, the *picture* of Maximilian's motto: the falcate wheel with the globe at the top and the pomegranate at the bottom (fig. 12)[19]. At the top of the image we can read "MAXIMILIANVS IMPERATOR MAGNVS BELLO PRINCEPS ET PACE PRECLARVS. / pius; clemens, magnanimus, doctus. cum annis xxxiii prefiusset, meritur in domino " (fig. 13).

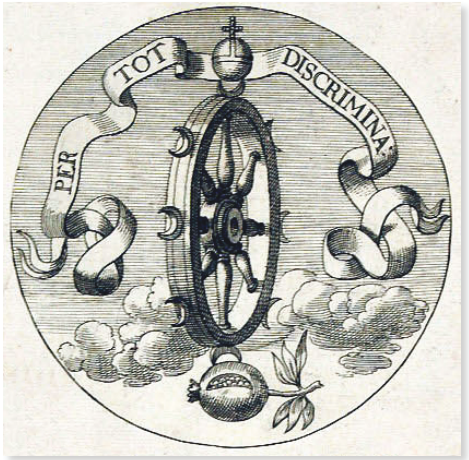

Fig. 11. Device of Maximilian I in manuscript 2583
© Museo Naval (Madrid)

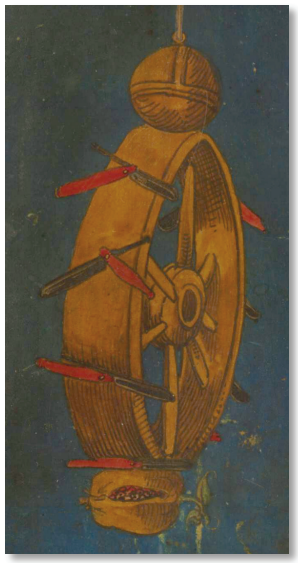

Fig. 12. Drawing of Jörg Breu II © British Museum (detail). Nº Reg. 1876,0708.2634-2635

[17] According to the manuscript, it was built in Brussels at the order of Don Luis Francisco de Benavides Carrillo de Toledo (1608-1668), Marquis of Caracena and Marquis of Frómista, who replaced Don Juan of Austria in the government of the Netherlands in 1659: *Explicación de lo que contiene la fragata que el exmo. señor Marqués de Caracena mandó fabricar en los estados de Flandes para servir a sus Magestades en su Real Palacio del Buen Retiro*, Library of the Naval Museum (Madrid).

[18] British Museum, Nº 1876,0708.2634-2635.

[19] Possibly, Jörg Breu II did not know how to represent a falcate wheel, that is, one with blades, and he represented these as barber's knives.

Fig. 13. Drawing on vellum by Jörg Breu II depicting Emperor Maximilian I with his device.
© The British Museum. Nº 1876,0708.2634-2635

There are various interpretations of Maximilian I's device, but none, it seems to me, that provides a complete and thorough explanation of all the elements that make up the *pictura* in relation to the motto based on texts which are either contemporary or close in time to the life of the Emperor himself (these usually in Latin).

Typotius (1601), in the brief commentary that he adds to the device, explains in Latin that the wheel symbolizes the life of man and indicates that its radii, of which there are six, allude to critical periods in life[20]. He specifies that the wheel bears falcate blades, symbolizing the many dangers that lurk throughout life. This wheel turns beneath the orb (cruciferous globe) which denotes the sovereign of the world, whose voice is heard saying PER TOT DISCRIMINA (*through so many moments of danger*). These, according to Typotius, are as numerous as the seeds of a pomegranate. But this fruit, just as it is rough and hard on the outside, harbors sweet, medicinal seeds within. He concludes the commentary by saying "accommodate yourself to the situation, because the memory of what is done rightly is very sweet".

Other Latin texts include some explanation of Maximilian's device, but they do not really provide anything that clarifies more than Typotius' description and interpretation. For example, Salomon Neugebauer (1619: 27-28) adds his commentary to the engraving of the devise, but he seems not to have understood the nature of the wheel that appears in the *pictura*, since he considers it a molar wheel[21], and thus he does not understand the "dangers" represented by a falcate wheel, which can inflict serious injury. A molar wheel (that is, one used for grinding or milling) is not made of wood and does not have spokes; it is a round stone that rotates against another, fixed stone to mill grain. He associates the wheel (*molar*) with the wheel of Fortune, the turning of which represents human vicissitudes (prosperous and

[20] Since ancient times, astrologers had expounded the theory of climacteric years, according to which the life of Man, influenced by the stars, passed through critical points conducive to transformations or calamities, especially in years in multiples of 7 and 9. Some argued, in accordance with this, that such critical moments occurred at 7, 14, 21, 49, 56 and 63 years, and considered the latter to be the greatest climacteric, in which a man's fragility was extreme. For those who believed that it had to be multiples of nine, the year 81 was the greatest climacteric. Plato, Cicero, Macrobius, Aulus Gellio, among the ancients, as well as Argol, Maginus and Salmasio, Augustine, Ambrose, Bede and Boethius, all wrote on this matter. Aulus Gellio (*Attic Nights* (XV, 7, 2009: 563-564) claims that the theory comes from the Chaldeans, who probably received it from Pythagoras. See: Claude Saumaise (Salmasius), *De annis climactericis et antiqua astrologia diatribae*, 1648.

[21] *Rotam molaris cum sex radiis, in eiusque parte superiori Imperii globus cum cruce, inferiore malum punicum cuius cauli iuncta sunt duo folia addita epigraphe:* PER TOT DISCRIMINA. *Imperium globo signatur per rotam fortunam vices rerum humanarum, punici acini multitudine discriminum.*

adverse events). He adds that, according to Pomponius Leto, Caesar Diocletian used to say that there was "nothing more difficult than to rule well even for a good and cautious emperor".

These interpretations, especially that of Neugebauer, were made at a time too far removed from the period in which Maximilian lived, and do not consider the cultural environment in which the device was produced. To understand the meaning of the image of the wheel, it is necessary to take into account the very popular medieval legends about visions of purgatory and hell: visions of Tondal, of Lazarus, of Saint Paul, of Saint Patrick, and others, which were disseminated in both Latin and vernacular languages in illuminated manuscripts. Margaret of York, third wife of Charles *the Bold*, an intelligent and cultured woman who lived with Maximilian and Mary os Burgundy and, when the Duchess died, took care of their young children, commissioned a manuscript of *Les Visions du chevalier Tondal*, currently kept in the Getty Museum (Los Angeles –Ms. 30–). Likewise, the apocryphal experiences of Lazarus in the short time that passed from his death to being resurrected by Jesus Christ, known as the *Visions of Lazarus*, were repeatedly illustrated in manuscripts (Kren, 1992), one of which is *Livre de prières de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne*, which belonged to Philip *the Good*; it was produced in northern France or Flanders around the middle of the 1480s, and it is kept in the National Library of France (Ms. NAF 16428). In it (fol. 35r) we can see an illustration of the torments that the proud suffered in hell in the vision of Lazarus (fig. 14). The text that accompanies the drawing states:

> *Primo ait vidi rotas in inferno altissimas in monte situatas in modum molendimorum continue girantes cum impetu vehementi appendiculos habentes ferreos in quibus superbi stantant suspensi*.

Indeed, we are shown two mountains joined by a bar that acts as an axle for two wheels which, according to the description, rotate impetuously with blades embedded on the outer sides of the rims. Several people can be seen tied to these rings, their flesh pierced by the blades. They are, according to the text, those who were punished for the sin of pride. The resemblance to the iconographic testimonies of Maximilian's device are so great that it is logical to think that this sense was taken into account during its composition. The image was surely well known at the time, not only as an iconographic representation to which only the wealthy possessors of illuminated manuscripts would have access, but also through vivid descriptions in sermons that were intended to arouse in the faithful the terror of the sufferings to which they would be submitted if they committed the sin of pride.

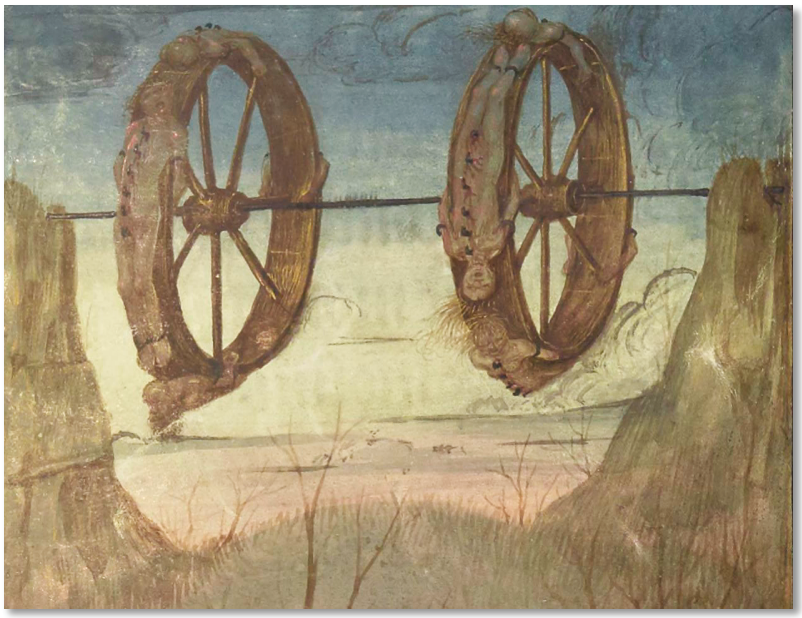

Fig. 14. Manuscript *Livre de prières de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne,*
© Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 16428, fol. 35r.

The pomegranate motif is also of great interest, as it appears in many depictions of the Emperor, especially in the famous portraits by Albrecht Dürer [22] (figs. 15-17), as well as in many places on Maximilian's famous *Great Triumphal Arch* (1515-1517), with an iconographic program by Marx Treitzsauerwein, produced in Nuremberg under the supervision of Dürer[23]. The tree in which the Emperor's genealogy is represented is a pomegranate, and all the characters in the upper part of the series of engravings (including Maximilian) carry a pomegranate in their hands (fig. 18).

[22] Those preserved in Vienna, Kunsthistorisch Museum and in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

[23] The following also took part: Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Springinklee, Wolf Traut, Hieronymous Andreae, Jorg Kölderer. The design was made primarily in Augsburg under the supervision of the humanist Peutinger. It was made with 195 woodblock blocks on 36 sheets with various scenes glorifying the House of Habsburg and Maximilian's military achievements. It is divided into seven parts: the three doors of Honor, Praise and Nobility, the central tower; the historical events of the reign of Maximilian on the lateral doors; the busts of emperors and kings on the left, the Emperor's relatives on the right; the round towers at each end, text panels below each scene, and five columns of text below. The word "Halt" appears in gold as the Emperor's motto.

Figs. 15 and 16. Portrait of Maximilian I (and detail), by Dürer. Oil on panel. © Kunsthistorisches Museum (Viena. Austria)

Fig. 17. Portrait of Maximilian I by Dürer. Oil on canvas. © Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Nuremberg, (Alemania).

Fig. 18. Woodcut (detail) of the central part of Maximilian's triumphal arch. Pomegranate branches surround him with his fruits, and he carries an open pomegranate in his hand.

We need to consider what concepts might make sense in Maximilian's device from among the diverse symbolic associations of the pomegranate. Plinio (*Natural History*, 13.34) specifies the varieties of pomegranates that exist: sweet, sour, bittersweet, acid and vinousa. The latter are characterized as maintaining a perfect balance of flavor between sour and sweet. Aristotle mentions the same type of pomegranate as a perfect mixture of tastes, in his *Problematum* XX: XIX, 44): "[...] *vinum quippe etiam ex acido ac dulce sapore mistum est. Probari hoc idem potest vel malis punicis, quae vinosa adpellamus*". Hildegard von Bingen (1098-1179), when dealing with the pomegranate (*De malis punicis*) in her treatise (*Physica* ... 1533: ch. XXVI, 162), mentions the types of pomegranates that exist, again highlighting the vinousa, noting its perfect balace of sweet and sour, and that at the mean point is the virtue: "*Vinolenta in usu erunt meliora supradictis: quia mediae uirtutis*".

This sense of moderation and balance seems to be linked to Maximilian's pomegranate, which coincides with that which various members of the Castilian royal family of the Trastamara family, and especially Henry IV of Castile, gave to their device, AGRO DULCE (López Poza, 2014 and 2012), interpreted by Spanish authors of the 16th century[24] as meaning that a good king must know how to temper the tasks of government in such a way that he does not exceed his powers either when applying justice (hard, harsh task *–agro–*) or granting clemency (something positive and generous *–dulce–*). Moderation is necessary so as not to fall into an excess of rigor or of mercy. This sense fits perfectly with Maximilian's motto, HALT 'MASS, sometimes expressed in Latin as "Tene Mediocritatem" (*keep the middle*). On the pillars of the Great Triumphal Arch of Maximilian we can see, on the left, a griffin bearing a bouquet of pomegranates, and its symmetrical one, on the right, bears the Emperor's motto: HALT 'MASS (figs. 19 and 20).

Volkmann (2018: 182 and 191) considers another point of view. Looking at the continent (the rough rind) of the pomegranate and the content (tasty seeds) he adduces a different notion. He believes that Maximilian

[24] Juan de Horozco alludes to the pomegranate of Henry IV's device twice in his *Emblemas morales*: in Lib. I, p. 45, in which he says that it shows the condition that princes must have in being bitter to the bad, and sweet to the good, and in Lib. III, emb. 30, fols. 161r-162v, where he explains that in the mixture of the two tastes it is well understood what there must be in terms of mercy and rigor, so that there is neither excessive in punishment nor a lack of it, because from the one is born hatred, and from the other contempt. Juan de Borja, in his *Empresas morales* (ed. 1680, II, pp. 402-403), shows an open pomegranate, with the motto: ET DULCITER ACRE TEMPERABIS, and in the commentary indicates that those who govern must flee from both extremes to find the right means, without exceeding cruelty or weakness.

seeks to communicate that under an inconspicuous physical aspect he has great virtues. Yet Volkmann provides no sources to supports such a claim:

> pomegranate, thus showing that he was always calm, without outward pomp, that he wished to strive for virtue and honor, with an exterior which was inconspicuous but which within contained fine, beautifully colored and tasty seeds (p. 182).
>
> a pomegranate, which the emperor himself chose in his youth as a device or livery, because it contains a sweet center within an outwardly unassuming form (p. 191.

In light of how the semiological system of devices worked, and especially in princes and rulers, it is very unlikely that this was the message that Maximilian wanted to convey. Even so, it might be implicit, although the main one, in my opinion, was likely to have been more political in scope, as in all the other devices of heroic knights of his status.

Figs. 19 & 20. Griffins on top of two pillars of the Triumphal Arch of Maximilian

We do not know if, as Faustino Menéndez Pidal (2005: 126) assumes, "El emperador Maximilian usó como divisa la granada, recibida de sus consuegros los Reyes Católicos, como recoge la conocida obra de Fugger[25]". In several commentaries it has been noted that he received a gold pomegranate and gems from his in-laws Ferdinand and Isabella, but no

[25] Menéndez Pidal adds in note: "Jans Jakob Fugger, *Wahrhaftige Beschreibung... der allen edelsten...geschlechten der Christenheit, des Habspurgischen und Österreichischen gebluets...,* 1565, fol. 314. Lo mismo afirma el refundidor y continuador de la obra de Fugger, Sigmund von Birken, en su obra *Spiegel der Ehren des Höchstlöblichsten Kayser- und Königlichen Erzhauses Österreich... erstlich vor mehr als hundert Jahren verfasst durch... Johann Jakob Fugger... nunmehr aber aus dem Original reuüblich umgesetzet... und in sechs Bücher eingeteilet*, Nürnberg, 1668". I have not been able to find the first work; in the second, on p. 1384, we find mention of Maximilian's devices, but I do not see any allusion to what Menéndez Pidal indicates.

source is cited to confirm this. It is very possible that this was indeed the case, because, as I have said, the exchange of devices was frequent. The family of Queen Isabella I of Castile (1451-1504) had used the pomegranate as a device at least since the reign of her father, John II (1405-1454), King of Castile, who used it together with others (as can be seen in a side door at the Cartuja de Miraflores, Burgos); she and her husband used it with other devices, whereas her brother, King Henry IV of Castile (1425-1474)[26], used it as his only device, as noted above.

It could be this sense of contrast and the concept of moderation that interested Maximilian, but we do not know if, when the *pictura* of his device was designed, he had already received the supposed gift from Isabella and Ferdinand. The marriage agreements between their children (Archduke Philip and Archduchess Margaret) with those of the *Catholic Monarchs* (Prince John and Princess Joanna) were signed in Antwerp in 1495[27], and we have no certainty of the date on which Maximilian included the pomegranate as a *picture* in his device.

In short, and taking into account the motto (since a device cannot be analyzed by disregarding one of its two elements), the motif of the pomegranate in Maximilian's device could symbolize, as Typotius indicated, the sweet fruit that awaits those who are capable of resisting without despair the vicissitudes and hardships of life (symbolized by the rough skin). But it perhaps better fits the sense that the Trastamara family gave it: the moderation that a sovereign has to show in his actions, with a perfect balance between what is pleasing and what is convenient (of which the pomegranate is an example due to the mixture of flavor sour and sweet). Both senses agree with the motto of Maximilian's device: HALT 'MASS.

At some point Maximilian must have used a dormouse as a *pictura*, since in a short book that describes a celebration, *Triumpho del Tusón*[28] (1679: 26), there is a description of festive apparatus, and here a representation of the Emperor Maximilian is mentioned, accompanied by his device, which was "un lirón de agua y el mundo sobre una rueda, con el lema: PER TOT DISCRIMINA" (a water dormouse and the world on a wheel, with the motto: PER TOT DISCRIMINA). Nothing more is indicated, but it is interesting what this animal symbolizes, whose survival strategy is to sleep

[26] The pomegranate was also used by the successors of the *Catholic Monarchs*: their daughters Mary and Catherine of Aragón, as well as their grandson Charles V.

[27] General Archive of Simancas, Spain, ES.47161.AGS// PTR,LEG,56,DOC.2,1. There were previous occasions on which gifts were exchanged; in 1488 the *Catholic Monarchs* received a proposal from Maximilian for an alliance against France, and gifts were sent (Prescott, 1848: 132).

[28] *Triumpho del Tusón: celebrado en Brusselas a 23. de abril de este año 1679.* A copy is kept in the Historical Library of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

all winter, waiting in that state for spring to arrive, thereby showing its adaptability and resistance. This seems to be one of the concepts that Maximilian advocates with his device: to bear the onslaught of life with integrity and to adapt until the best opportunity arises.

Moderation as Maximilian's aspiration appears in some sources that include the motto *Tene mensuram et respice finem* (have measure and focus to the end) which synthesizes the concept, although no image is provided[29].

Interpretation of the meaning of the device

Taking these considerations into account, Maximilian's device seems to communicate that his intention is to act with moderation, without being carried away by pride, and maintaining confidence in the future. Governing is a difficult task, but he will maintain an attitude of perseverance in face of adversity as a strategy, adapting to the situation with equanimity. This concept can be accompanied both by the Latin motto PER TOT DISCRIMINA and by the one that sometimes accompanies the *pictura*, in German, *Halt 'Maß* (written in different ways: HALT MASS / HALT MAAS)[30]. It embraces both the words of Aeneas to his companions (*through so many dangers*) and the exhilarating finale (*hold on and save yourselves for better times*). Maximilian presents himself as Aeneas, an epic hero, ready to endure any suffering, virtuous and capable of not being puffed up in success, of instilling confidence in moments of tribulation; in a word, a leader who provides his people with the security and tranquility of being led by a firm and honest hand.

Other Maximilian devices

Both Strada, in the manuscripts containing his own drawings, and Typotius, in reproducing them as engravings, represent another device of Maximilian I, the picture being a heart surrounded by a garland, with the motto IN MANU DEI REGIS EST (in the hand of God is [the heart] of the king) (fig. 21). The garland, according to the short commentary by the Flemish humanist, was made of leaves of *Anagyris [foetida]* (devil's lupine), whose

[29] Reusner, in *Symbolorum Imperatoriorum classis tertia*, 1588 (Symbolum 38, pp. 281-287): TENE MENSURAM, ET RESPICE FINEM, "aliud: ALLE ZEIT MIT HUT [...] SEMPER CUM CAUTIONE". And also Orazio Torsellini, *Epitome historiarum: Ab orbe condito usque ad annum 1595; Hac dessertma ed. continue etc. Access. separatim Chronologia et series Pontif. & Imper*, Promper, 1711 (the pages of the book are not numbered).

[30] In the device that includes the *Livre du Toison d'or* (BSB Cod.icon 285, see fig. 8, above) it appears as HALT MAAS, but in the drawing by Jörg Breu II in the British Museum (see above fig. 13) it is written as HALT MASS.

green leaves, according to Galen, were used as poultices to calm swelling (that is, an increase in the volume of a part of the body caused by inflammation, edema, or tumor). Typotius concludes by adding: "*summa potestate, summa moderatio*". The motto, then, conveys the notion that Maximilian, who due to his great earthly power could be filled with pride (in the same way that a 'swelling' involves a physical increase in volume), is nevertheless humble and moderate in stating that he knows himself to be in God's hands.

Fig. 21. Maximilian's device drawn by Octavio de Strada (1591).

Fig. 22. Detail of the Great Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian that allows to see the hanging tablet.

The metaphor of the swelling being reduced by the devil's lupine poultice recalls Saint Augustine when he refers to the arrogant. The saint of Hippo used to say that pride is not greatness, but swelling, and what is swollen, seems great but is not healthy. Thus, in Maximilian's *Great Triumphal Chariot*, the emperor is represented with this device in a hanging tablet before him, to remind him not to become swollen with pride (fig. 22). It recalls the parades of the Roman emperors being acclaimed by the people while a slave close by, holding a laurel wreath above the emperor's head, whispered "*memento mori*" (remember that you are mortal) in their ears, so that they would not boast excessively.

Salomon Neugebauer, in *Selectorum Symbolorum* (1619, pp. 20-30), did not realized the nature of the garland of this device, and alludes to it in his commentary as if it were laurel, but among the many symbols associated

with laurel there is nothing more pertinent than that of *Anagyris foetida*, devil's lupine or *lupinus albus*, as mentioned by Typotius. Pierio Valeriano observes in his *Hieroglyphica* (LVIII, 49) that this plant has the property of being able to rotate according to the course of the sun. Picinelli, in his *Mondo simbolico*, (X, 27), comments that, among other symbolic associations of the plant, it represents the wise man adjusting his will to the divine.

In the *Triumphal Chariot*, over the image of the Emperor and the allegorized cardinal virtues, there is a canopy with an image of the sun and the legend: "*Quod in coelis sol hoc in terra Cesar est*" (what in the sky is the sun, Caesar is on earth), and a banner of the double-headed eagle that represents him, from which hangs the label with the device that we are discussing here. Other elements of this work designed by Dürer serve to reaffirm Maximilian's interest in transmitting certain concepts: the allegory that drives the chariot is *Ratio* and those that guide the horses are *Moderatio* and *Providentia* (reason, moderation and providence are concepts present in the two devices of the Emperor).

Fig. 23. Rollenhagen, *Selectorum emblematum*, II, 46

Gabriel Rollenhagen, in his *Selectorum emblematum centuria secunda* (1613), seems to have been inspired by this device of Maximilian in his emblem 46, with the motto: IN MANU DEI COR REGIS, which offers two scenes, a main one showing a hand emerging from the clouds holding a crowned heart, and another in the background where a kneeling sovereign is seen praying, looking at the rays of the sun that represent the divinity (fig. 23). Thus, the idea that lupine or *lupinus albus* is a plant that, like the heliotrope, rotates in search of the sun, is also significant, due to the association that it produces between the star king and God.

In *Philosophia Peripatetica Austriacorum Caesarum Symbolis adumbrate* (1673, unpaginated edition) by Georgius Firmus, in the section dedicated to Maximilian I, in addition to his main device, with the motto PER TOT DISCRIMINA, two other images with mottoes are included as devices of the Emperor. The one identified as number II, shows in the *pictura* several men armed with arrows and bows and shooting

into the sky at what appear to be falling rays. The motto is: DISTANTIA OBSTAT (no action at a distance), and that which is numbered III depicts a shepherd and his cattle, in the sky a radiant sun and stars, with the motto: EXORTUS FUGAT (risen [the sun] flees [the night]). Each one is followed by a brief commentary from which we might consider that they are not personal devices, but rather emblems, possibly created by the Jesuit author of the book, who added the two elements to Maximilian's device to conform to the structure that the book takes throughout, in that each emperor is always associated with three “symbola”. In no way, then, can these two engravings be considered Maximilian's devices.

CONCLUSION

In light of everything discussed above, we can claim that Maximilian I expressed a recurring theme with his devices, one which he seems to have meditated on, and that was important in conveying a declaration of his intentions as ruler and monarch: his actions would be guided by moderation and temperance, adjusting them according to reason, and avoiding excesses. He manifests this by means of symbolic images that in his times could have been understood more clearly than today; the cruciferous globe symbolizes his power as sovereign, but through the falcate wheel, he shows that he is aware of the dangers that lie in wait for powerful men: pride, and the terrible punishment that they can suffer if they allow themselves to be carried away by such power. Through the pomegranate, he communicates that he is very much aware that, although governing is a difficult task, like the outer rind of the fruit, those whose rule is guided with moderation (evoked by the sour and sweet taste of vinousa pomegranates) will be rewarded by the exquisiteness of the inner fruit.

The device of the heart and the garland of devil's lupine or *lupinus albus* is redolent of his determination not to become puffed up with pride, aware that his destiny is in the hands of divine power.

Maximilian expresses his aspirations in the German language, so that everyone understands him, or uses the Latin words pronounced by Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, thus aligning himself with a mythical hero who has a great mission to fulfill for his people and who is ready to make all kinds of sacrifices to achieve the end for which he has been chosen by Divine Providence.

When he was only eighteen years old, he was impelled to make governmental decisions in very difficult situations for the Duchy of Burgundy. Previous dukes (except Felipe III, *the Good*) had been given nicknames, and not without reason, including epithets such as "the Bold",

"the Fearless" and again "the Bold". A declaration of intent such as that conveyed by Maximilian's devices had to be well received firstly by Burgundians, and subsequently by his subjects as King and Emperor.

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